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Changing Lives, Changing Languages: Societal Impact on Language Teaching

Abstract: 1989 was a dividing line in the history of Central & Eastern European countries. Not only were political systems re-organized, but also social and cultural relations had to be revisited. It is valid to education as well because it welcomed new structures, subjects and philosophies, very often in new educational environments. In Hungary, language education was in a special situation: due to the changing social demands, it had to face new challenges with the introduction of foreign languages which had not been widely taught at the time. The three pillars of this study are the analysis of the shift from a socialist regime to capitalism and its reflection in language education, the description of the appearance of different languages in public and higher education, and the introduction of new methods and synergies applied in the new era of FLT (foreign language teaching). Illustrations of the presented results are provided from the two of the initial steps in the education system, namely pre-school education and kindergarten teachertraining.

Key words: change, educational challenges, foreign language teaching (FLT), good practices, teacher-training

It's hard for human nature to make a true confession of the past.⁶

Introduction

Hungarians still cannot boast about their command of foreign languages. According to a EUROSTAT survey (Statistical, 2013) only 37% of the population speak at least one foreign language, which means that, considering the EU average (66%), Hungary is among the lowest in this regard. To explain the situation, usually two reasons appear. One of them perhaps stems from language typology and the other is rooted in language education.

If language families in Europe are taken into consideration, it shows that, while the majority of European languages belong to the Indo-European language family (which branches out into further groups like Germanic, Romance, Slavic, etc.), Hungarian, on the Ugric side of the Finno-Ugric languages, is largely isolated. In this sense, it, similar to the Basque and Altaic languages, is not part of the Indo-European language family. Therefore, the relative uniqueness or exotic status of the language may entail difficulties in language learning as well. Hungarian is not a widespread language, even if it is the mother tongue of a five million minority people in Europe, and it is not a widely learnt language either. The complex and complicated declination and conjugation system of this agglutinative language, together with a rich and refined vocabulary and a special grammatical structure, do not make it popular among language learners. Moreover, its usability is also highly limited. These drawbacks may justify why there are few people who wish to learn the language. At the same time, it would be worth examining reciprocity, i.e. if it is difficult for a foreigner to learn Hungarian, and this therefore challenges a Hungarian mother tongue speaker to learn a (an Indo-European) foreign language.

⁶ From *By the Danube* by Attila József (translated by Peter Zollman).

As far as language education is concerned, a wrong attitude towards language learning and ineffective methods in language teaching must be mentioned in parallel between the periods of 1949 and 1989 in Hungary. Both of these negative approaches can be clarified from socio-political points of view, highlighting 45 years of dictatorship as a political and "the compulsory language" syndrome as a socio-educational factor. The present study gives an overview of the different aspects of the social–political–educational changes of the early 1990s; in particular, what led to these changes, how the education system managed to cope with a shortage of foreign language teachers, how the major methodological principles altered and, accordingly, what kind of cooperation was necessary to reach the new goals.

Turning points (1949, 1989) with an intermezzo (1956)

After the second world war and with the accession to the Soviet bloc, communist patterns started to be shaped in the economy and the state organisations. In society, education became the mediator of the new ideology. Instead of despised and banned bourgeois values, a new ideal, "the socialist type of man", had to be followed in culture, literature, and education as well. While classical (Latin and Greek) and Western languages (German, French and English) were taught before 1945, in post-war Hungary a new educational philosophy had been elaborated by 1949 which had a large effect on humanities, especially on history, literature and language teaching. From the autumn of 1949, Russian as a compulsory language was introduced in the upper grades of primary schools, as well as in secondary schools and at universities.

If the introduction of Russian can be considered to be the first turning point of the history of compulsory foreign language teaching in 1949, 1989 can be regarded as the second, when Russian as a compulsory language was taken out of education. In 1949, ideological reasons played the leading role while in 1989, massive social pressure resulted in the decision to cease the teaching of this language. On 16 June 1989 Ference

Glatz, Minister of Culture, declared that, although foreign language learning would be obligatory, the language could be chosen by students. Accordingly, from September 1989, Russian was no longer a compulsory language in Hungarian schools. The verdict was accompanied by a broad social agreement, yet it happened just as suddenly and without any elaboration as the introduction of Russian teaching in 1949.

Between the two turning points, an intermezzo has recently been revealed which can be connected with the revolution of 1956. Politics and the different scenes of society were so entwined that it can be considered to be natural that attacks against the regime were made on several fronts. On 1st October 1956 a letter to the ministry was sent by a secondary school of a county town, Győr. It reads "[...] abolish the teaching of Russian, otherwise, it will be the root cause of anti-Soviet movements among the young" (Keresztes, 2013, para.2). Naturally, this ultimatum cannot be judged as a major reason for the outbreak of the revolution, yet it reflects the general attitude towards the compulsory language and especially towards its socio-political background. Finally, the request for the abolishment was fulfilled more than three decades later.

Russian and the "other" languages (1949-89)

The obligatory status of Russian in Hungarian schools was maintained from 1949 to 1989. Although, due to its limited application, most students found learning Russian a l'art pour l'art activity, without any tangible purpose, there were special circles where Russian was indeed used. It was spoken by soldiers in the Warsaw Pact, officials of the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), foreign trade companies and companies cooperating with the Soviet Union and in the tourist trade. Yet its practical usage in everyday communication was very rare. At the same time, there was a stable need for Russian teacher training to continue teaching the language at schools. Therefore, Russian as a major subject was available at every teacher training college and university. Generally, a student who went on to study at the tertiary level studied the language

for ten years (4 years at primary school and 4 years at secondary school, plus two years at every university).

The years spent learning Russian, however, did not bring much success for the majority of learners. There was an obvious gap between the input and the output of language teaching.

In Hungary, the usual proof of success in foreign language learning was taking a language exam at the Foreign Language Training Centre in Budapest. Between 1967 and 1980, this centre was not only the most prestigious "palace" of taking language exams and the issuing of certificates, but also the only one in the whole country. Its monopoly lasted till 1980 when new types of language examinations (e.g. Cambridge Certificate in English or Goethe Certificate in German) were allowed to appear on the market. Considering these results, a paradoxical situation can be noticed: it is conspicuous that in spite of the fact that Russian was the first foreign language learnt at school, the number of language examinations in second foreign languages like German or English were much higher than in Russian (Table 1, 2, 3). The reason can be found in terms of motivation (both intrinsic and extrinsic) and in the inadequate teaching methods of Russian.

Table 1. Teaching and knowledge of Russian (Based on Medián, 2004, cited in Laki, 2006, p. 883)

Date of birth	Primary school Russian (%)	Secondary school Russian (%)	Language exams in Russian (%)
1975–79	86	13	2
1970–74	96	33	1
1965–73	98	36	3
1960–64	95	51	3

Table 2. Teaching and knowledge of German (Based on Medián, 2004, cited in Laki, 2006, p. 883)

Date of birth	Primary school German (%)	Secondary school German (%)	Language exams in German (%)
1975–79	19	34	8
1970–74	5	18	3
1965–73	6	19	4
1960–64	7	13	6

Table 3. Teaching and knowledge of English (Based on Medián, 2004, cited in Laki, 2006, p. 883)

Date of birth	Primary school English (%)	Secondary school English (%)	Language exams in English (%)
1975–79	14	33	10
1970–74	6	19	7
1965–73	4	9	5
1960–64	2	10	6

Teaching materials were also poor and ideologically loaded. Even as far as the teaching of Western languages is concerned, only the newspapers of communist parties were available. Therefore, besides the Russian *Pravda*, only *Volksstimme* in German or *l'Unità* in Italian could serve as supplementary materials in language lessons. As they were all saturated with ideology, using them in the classroom was rather counterproductive in terms of language teaching.

Language educational differences

Looking back to the 1980s and comparing language teaching methodologies, a noticeable gap can be observed between the ways in which Russian and, for instance, English was taught. What Kovács, Trentinné (2014) notice about the language learning methods of the Industrial Age and the Knowledge Age can be, with minor alterations, applied when comparing language education methods in the 1980s (Table 4.):

Table 4. Language educational differences in the 1980s

Methodological factors	Traditional Methods (Industrial Age): "Eastern" Languages	New Methods (Knowledge Age): "Western" Languages
Knowledge delivery	Teacher: 'spoon-feeding'	Learners' active participation
Structure of lessons	Schematic	Varied with activities
Textbooks	Transfer traditional topics	Introduce up-to-date topics
Technical equipment	Board and chalk	Audiovisual equipment
Focus	On the teacher	On the learner
Teacher's role	Teacher: donor (explanations)	Teacher: facilitator (interactions)
Learner's role	Receiving, storing and presenting knowledge	Equal partner, learning from the peers
Cultural studies	Transmit high culture	The concept of culture is extended
Goal of knowledge	Knowing about	Knowing of
Society → Education	CONTROLLED	(relatively) FREE

The last line can be observed as both a conclusion and the starting point of language education. All of the enlisted methodological factors in the case of Russian converged in the direction of a controlled educational setting: the classroom reflected the operational environment of the whole of society, a quasi "laboratory". The omnipotent teachers, the ideologically deeply affected textbooks and the schematic structures of the lessons, were more suitable to alienating learners from the foreign language than to involve them in learning.

On the other hand, it was unavoidable to resist the new stream in language teaching trends, especially in TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language) where communicative and student-centred language teaching became not only slogans but gradually an everyday practice in the

language classroom. English lessons had a special atmosphere where the teacher could be considered as a facilitator; imported textbooks transferred authentic materials and, with the motivation and active participation of the students, a greater sense of achievement could be expected. In practice, it was the time when the dominance of the Grammar Translation Method decreased and students' needs and usability of the language were taken into consideration to a greater extent. Thus, the expansion of the Direct Method could be noticed, especially in English and German lessons. The method was supported by textbooks promoting communication; like the *Strategies* series in English and the *Themen* course books in German (more examples of innovations and new attitudes will be given in this article under the heading of *Good practices*).

Change in paradigm (1989)

Undoubtedly, it was the political change that irrevocably reformed language education as well. The Russian words "гласность" ("glasnost" as "opening") and "перестройка" ("perestroika" as "reconstruction") were welcome in and outside Russian classes. What Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, had announced could not be stopped: changes swept through the Soviet bloc. Each socialist country had its own characteristics which emerged in critical political situations affecting the country and its neighbours, too. The Polish Solidarity movement had an impact on Hungarian changes as did the Romanian revolution, and the Hungarian changes had their own ripple effect on the West. In Hungary, it was a time of the opening of the Austro-Hungarian border to Germans which helped the union of East and West Germany, the time of the so-called Round Table Talks between the single party of the old regime and the formation of new parties, and Russian troops leaving the country (Figure 1). All this happened in a peaceful way (vs. the revolution in 1956). The chance for a smooth and democratic transition was given.



Figure 1. The poster on the left reads "Good-bye, Hungarians! The Red Army" (Source: Kivonulnak, 1990)

The great language shift in Hungary (1989)

Social pressure and political changes brought changes in language education in the autumn of 1989 when Russian officially ceased to be an obligatory language. However, it was easier said than done. As Malderez, Medgyes (1996, p. 2) put it:

"[...] the euphoria felt by teachers, students and parents in 1989 proved to be short lived. It turned out that schools were unable to satisfy the great demand for English and German, because teachers of these two languages were in short supply; according to moderate estimates, the shortfall was in the order of 10,000."

While the question of Who will teach the Western languages? rightly arouse, a great number of Russian teachers were afraid of being superfluous and losing their jobs from one day to the other. The answer was given in three different ways, the results of which were combined in practice.

First of all, a new frame of teacher training was created by the establishment of the CETT (Centre for English Teacher Training) at ELTE University, Budapest. In this form of training (vs. traditional teacher training)

relevant changes could be noticed both in the frame and the content of training. Instead of the usual two major levels of teacher training in Hungary of the time, the institute focused solely on English teacher training in one program. It awarded a BEd. degree after 3 years, which was also new in Hungary in comparison to the old "college" (4 years) and "university" (5 years) system. Apart from formal innovations, the most conspicuous difference between the old and the new types of training were the contents. While language teacher training subjects (regardless of the language concerned) had been mainly theoretical, this type of training overtly put the emphasis on methodology; which was to a great extent in the background in the old form of teacher training. The traditional question of "what" was to be complemented with the question of "how".

The other side of the coin was the retraining of Russian teachers. At this time, in-service courses for foreign languages at different state colleges and universities were formed to "change" the majors of teachers from Russian to mostly English or German. Although the economic conception (i.e. to satisfy the needs with already trained language teachers) could be accepted, in practice it did not always work out smoothly, especially in the case of teachers who had been teaching Russian for decades and must have had professional and personal ties to the language. Yet, this type of training went on from 1989 to 1998. By this time, the shortage of language teachers was basically solved.

Apart from state solutions, the market also noticed the gap and tried to meet the requirements of language learners. Therefore, market orientated language schools mushroomed all over the country where a wide range of choice was offered, and also a wide level of quality in teaching could be noticed.

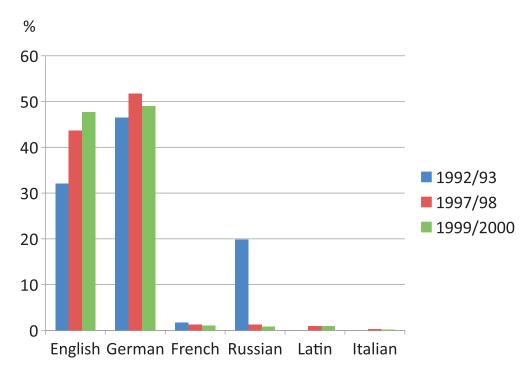
In parallel with all the changes inside Hungarian language education, at this point it is worth mentioning the support coming from outside of Hungary. Foreign language and cultural institutions did play an important role in the revival of language teacher training. The British Council (English), the Goethe Institute (German), the Italian Cultural Institute (Italian) were all a magnet for teachers who wanted to develop their language and teaching skills. For instance, the British Council

recruited teachers for their in-service trainings with such success that some of their training schemes were expanded to long lasting international projects which resulted in new teaching attitudes, methods and up-to-date materials, for example in the integrated teaching of language, culture and literature, for example, the course book, *Zoom in on Britain and Hungary* (Andrews, et al., 2001 a, b; Kitzinger, 2002). These innovations cannot be neglected even today, as they served as the basis of modern language teaching in the country.

The proportion of languages (after 1989)

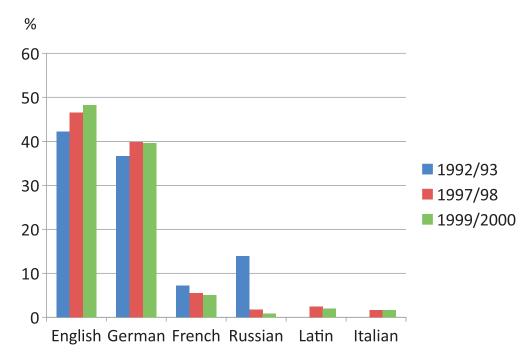
The abolition of Russian as an obligatory language gave a special space for other foreign languages; with the difficulties detailed above. Within a decade (between 1990 and 2000) the proportion of languages taught in Hungary showed the following picture in primary and secondary education (Graphs 1, 2):

Graph 1. The proportion of languages in primary schools in percentage (Source: Report: Education in Hungary 2000)



Graph 2. The proportion of languages in secondary schools in percentage terms

(Source: Report: Education in Hungary 2000)



It can be noticed that English and German were the most taught and learnt languages in this period. English as a top lingua franca in the world today is self-explanatory, and considering the geographical location and historical ties of Hungary, German can be easily explained, too. However, if we take a closer look at the question, it could be noticed that German is more popular in the western part of Hungary, where there is everyday contact with Austria; due to daily tourism, education, commuting for work and other interregional relations. The great number of primary schools (even kindergartens) where German is taught as a minority language in the country might explain the slightly higher number of German students in primary schools than in secondary schools. Classical languages like Latin are not a part of the education system, even in academic grammar schools where they used to be (whereas in Italy for instance, it is still the case in classical liceo). Neo-Latin languages also seemed to be neglected in this decade. Yet, Russian in the transition period was still taught according to an exit scheme.

New tasks

With the arrival of the new millennium, the profile of language education had to meet new requirements. The balance between languages taught started to show a more sophisticated picture. Although it basically did not make an impact on school education, new educational demands had to be taken into consideration which were also due to societal effects. Trade with new partners encouraged language learners to opt for Asian languages such as Japanese or Chinese. Revitalised tourism and trade with Russia brought the revival of the Russian language, which did not reach the level of Russian teaching in the period between 1945 and 1989, yet became important and attractive among the new generation in secondary schools and at universities. A global trend in bilingual education, especially in secondary schools in the frame of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), and at universities with joint degrees issued by Hungarian and foreign universities, can be observed. Besides familial bilingualism, a special parental demand activated institutional early childhood language development in pre- and primary schools. Migration, especially in the labour market (e.g. in car factories or NATO airbases) encouraged multilingual and multicultural education, an area which requires further research.

Additionally, recent trends in language education also had to be harmonised with European Union priorities which, according to An Action Plan for 2004–06 (Promoting, 2004) were as follows:

- 1. Linguistic diversity
- 2. Early start
- 3. Language learning in secondary and higher education
- 4. Lifelong learning
- 5. Language teacher training

Good practices

The revised Hungarian language education system, focusing on the above cited preferences, can provide a number of examples of best practice. These can especially be noticed in a previously neglected field in language pedagogy. Here two examples are mentioned, kindergarten teacher trainees' special language education at the faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Sopron (Kitzinger, 2010) and multilingual–multicultural education in a kindergarten at the NATO airbase in Pápa (Kitzinger, 2014).

Hungary has long standing traditions in training bilingual pre-school teachers for the kindergartens of minorities living in Hungary. Future pre-school teachers can choose from the languages of the Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovenian, and Roma minorities. Apart from the language training of the minorities, however, there is only one place where training pre-school teachers with a foreign language specialisation has been introduced. "English in the kindergarten" is an innovative programme that was launched by the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Sopron in the academic year 2006/07.

The faculty builds its English language teaching program along the same line as the German language pre-school teaching which has been in practice since 1959. The programme applies the "playful bilingual method", and its aim, besides introducing a foreign language in the pre-school, is to train a new generation of teachers who are qualified to work with the three to six age group. Trainees gain knowledge, specifically in early childhood psychology and pedagogy. As far as foreign language is concerned, the faculty wishes to give their students a solid linguistic background together with practical know-how tailored for very young children. In order to do so, along with the general basic subjects (English Grammar, Communication, English and American Literature), students study special subjects for the given age group, for instance Children's Literature, Intercultural Studies, and naturally, English Methodology for Preschool Children.

Already from the second term of their studies, students observe English language sessions in the kindergarten. The aim of the "English in the

kindergarten" programme is to deal with English in an integrated way. It means that English is embedded in the children's daily routine and also in their activities such as art (drawing, painting), singing, physical education or environmental activities. The first students of the new English programme graduated in 2009 and, since then, the programme has achieved notable success.

The other example is from a Hungarian kindergarten where foreign and Hungarian children's integrated education is going on. The "Pápa Model" is a Hungarian educational pattern introduced in kindergarten pedagogy in 2008 which operates within the frame of the SAC/17 (Strategic Airlift Capability) NATO programmer and makes integrated multilingual and multicultural education possible for Hungarian and migrant children in Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa. The main elements of the programme are as follows (Table 5.):

Table 5. The "Pápa Model"

	The "Pápa Model"
1.	The programme of the PM is based on Hungarian—English bilingualism while children, due to the international composition of the kindergarten groups, can also become familiar with several other languages.
2.	Kindergarten teachers and pedagogical assistants use the Hungarian and/ or the English language(s). At the same time, children's language choice and language use are optional.
3.	The language pedagogical aim of the PM is a) to give the appropriate motivation and impulse for kindergarteners to acquire their mother tongue and foreign language(s) and b) to facilitate language development under spontaneous and natural circumstances, embedded in playful setting whose result should be the oral production of languages according to the age characteristics.
4.	The programme puts a special emphasis on the acquaintance with Hungarian and other nations' culture present in the kindergarten and on their widespread introduction. Therefore, the multicultural aim of the programme is to arouse interest in exploring other cultures among children, parents and educators so that children could get accustomed to cultures and behavioural norms different from their own. At the same time, they should be familiar with their own culture's features and values as well.
5.	The major features of the PM are a) uniqueness, i.e. it is unexampled at worldwide language education policy level b) innovation, i.e. the continuous renewal and development (e.g. by projects, material and personal conditions) c) expansibility and expandability both in its linguistic and cultural contents.
6.	The prospect of the PM lies in its "good practice" or "pattern" status which can be implemented through further dissemination and cooperation emphasising both the advantages and drawbacks of the programme.

The examples cited here are characteristic of pre- and high school education which diverge in a special field, i.e. second language acquisition or development. However, almost every stage of education (primary, secondary and tertiary stages) underwent similar, relevant changes.

Conclusions

The review described a long period of time both in historical and societal changes. One of the aims of the study was to decipher a distorted truth and show how every segment of life is affected in a dictatorship, as Gyula Illyés writes in his long censored poem:

"Where seek tyranny? Think again:
Everyone is a link in the chain".
From "A Sentence on Tyranny", translated by Vernon Watkins.

The other aim was to describe and, from a certain distance, see the facts and mistakes that were made under an existing regime which is still so often blamed in Eastern Europe for the failures of the recent past. Interestingly enough, the same mistake was repeated in language education in Hungary: introducing Russian learning in a fortnight in 1949 was just as serious a mistake as abolishing it – also in a fortnight in 1989. This language, without any fault on its part, became the *victim* of a political regime and a faulty educational policy due to all the ideological and political loads it had to bear. Yuri Prokhorov calls Russian as "an ideological irritant" (as cited in Emelyanenko, 2016, para.9) of the communist era, and those who lived through these times, either as students, teachers or parents, know exactly what he means by this. Two decades had to pass to liberate this language from its very unfortunate past and give back the status this language deserves (i.e. the important 4th or 5th place on the language learning palette in Hungary).

The task of teachers and educational decision makers today is to be realistic in language teaching policy effective in teaching and learning languages via tailor-made methods and a humane pedagogical attitude. In addition, it is important to pass on a passion for learning a language, and the culture associated by motivating students to regard a foreign language not only as a part of their intellect but also as a part of their identity.

Although this article intended to show the political and societal changes reflected in language education policy in only one country, namely in Hungary, it would be highly instructive and challenging to do research into and make comparisons of the theme in Central and Eastern European countries as well.

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